

Message Text

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SUBJ: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JULY 15, 1975

(SALT TWO-670)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 15, 1975.

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
JULY 15, 1975

MR. MINISTER,

I

TODAY I WILL ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF INCREASES IN SILO DIMENSIONS
TO BE PERMITTED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THIS WILL
ALSO SERVE TO RESPOND TO YOUR STATEMENT OF APRIL 29 WITH REGARD
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TO THE US PROPOSAL CONCERNING SUCH INCREASES. ALTHOUGH THE DELEGATION

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HAVE DISCUSSED THIS SUBJECT PREVIOUSLY, I CONSIDER IT TIMELY TO REVIEW WHAT WE HAVE SAID AND TO SEE IF WE CAN RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES. IN ADDITION, I WANT TO COMMENT ON THE SOMEWHAT BROADER ISSUE OF THE GROWTH OF DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITY OF ICBMS.

II

THE SIDES ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974 REFLECTS THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK THAT THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLES I AND II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, TOGETHER WITH THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING RELATING TO INCREASES IN SILO DIMENSIONS, ARE TO BE INCORPORATED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THE US VIEW THAT THE AIDE MEMOIRE IS NOT TO BE INTERPRETED AS REQUIRING THAT THOSE PROVISIONS - OR ANY PROVISIONS - NEED BE TRANSFERRED VERBATIM FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT TO THE NEW AGREEMENT. VERBATIM TRANSFER IS ESPECIALLY INAPPROPRIATE WHERE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OR THE AIDE MEMOIRE LANGUAGE PERMITS AMBIGUITIES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

THE AGREED INTERPRETATION WHICH STATES THAT THE DIMENSIONS OF LAND-BASED ICMB SILOS WILL NOT BE "SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED" IS IMPRECISE. THE RELATED COMMON UNDERSTANDING REMOVES SOME OF THE IMPRECISION BY DEFINING "SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED" TO MEAN THAT AN INCREASE WILL NOT BE GREATER THAN 10-15 PERCENT OF THE "THEN PRESENT DIMENSIONS". NEVERTHELESS, THIS FORMULATION STILL DOES NOT STATE CLEARLY AND PRECISELY WHAT INCREASES ARE PERMITTED. THE US DRAFT TEXT OF MARCH 5 WAS DESIGNED TO ELIMINATE THIS AMBIGUITY. SUBSEQUENTLY, IN THE LIGHT OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO DELEGATIONS AND IN AN EFFORT TO NARROW THE DIFFERENCES ON THIS ISSUE, ON APRIL 25 WE SUBMITTED A REVISED US PROPOSAL WHICH NOW APPEARS IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.

MR. MINISTER, I CAN SEE NO MERIT IN CARRYING FORWARD THE AMBIGUITIES WHICH EXIST WITH RESPECT TO THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING INCREASES IN SILO DIMENSIONS BY MECHANICALLY INCORPORATING PREVIOUS LANGUAGE IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. I BELIEVE WE WOULD BE DOING OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS A DISSERVICE IF WE WERE

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TO SUBMIT TO THEM A NEW AGREEMENT WHICH DID NOT DEFINE PRECISELY THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH ARE TO BE UNDERTAKEN. ACCORDINGLY, I AGAIN URGE THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE US FORMULATION ON INCREASES IN SILO DIMENSIONS CONTAINED IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT. THAT FORMULATION READS: "THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT NOT TO INCREASE THE ORIGINAL INTERNAL LENGTH OR THE ORIGINAL INTERNAL DIAMETER OF ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS BY MORE

THAT 15 PERCENT. IN THE EVENT BOTH THESE DIMENSIONS ARE INCREASED, THE SUM OF SUCH INCREASES, EACH EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE ORIGINAL DIMENSION, SHALL NOT EXCEED 15 PERCENT."

UNDER THIS FORMULATION, IF THE ORIGINAL LENGTH OF THE SILO WERE INCREASED BY 15 PERCENT, NO INCREASE IN DIAMETER WOULD BE PERMITTED AND THE RESULTING INCREASE IN SILO VOLUME WOULD BE 15 PERCENT. IF THE DIAMETER WERE INCREASED BY 15 PERCENT, NO INCREASE IN LENGTH WOULD BE PERMITTED, AND THE RESULTING INCREASE IN SILO VOLUME WOULD BE APPROXIMATELY 32 PERCENT. VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF INCREASES TO A SILO'S LENGTH AND DIAMETER COULD BE MADE, THE SUM OF WHICH INCREASES (EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES) WOULD NOT EXCEED 15 PERCENT. THE INCREASE IN ORIGINAL SILO VOLUME WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM SUCH COMBINATIONS OF INCREASES COULD RANGE UP TO ABOUT 32 PERCENT.

III

IN URGING THAT WE AGREE UPON A PRECISE FORMULATION FOR THE PROVISIONS IN THE NEW AGREEMENT LIMITING INCREASES IN THE SIZE OF ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS ADDRESSES ONLY ONE PORTION OF THE PROBLEM CONCERNING THE DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF ICBMS. IT WOULD BE OF LITTLE VALUE FOR US TO DRAFT AN AGREEMENT LIMITING INCREASES IN THE SIZE OF ICBM SILOS, BUT TO ALLOW CONTINUED GROWTH IN THE DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF ICBMS THROUGH INCREASES IN VOLUME OR THROW-WEIGHT WITHIN THE SAME SIZE SILO.

SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WE HAVE ALREADY WITNESSED THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES BY ONE SIDE WHICH HAVE MORE THAN TWICE THE DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF THE MISSILES THEY REPLACED. CONSERVATIVE PROJECTIONS OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES INDICATE THAT THE THROW-WEIGHT AND HENCE DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL

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OF BALLISTIC MISSILES OF A GIVEN SIZE COULD BE AT LEAST DOUBLED ONCE AGAIN DURING THE PERIOD OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT LIMITING INCREASES IN THE SIZE OF ICBM SILOS ALONE DOES NOT SUFFICIENTLY LIMIT INCREASES IN THE DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF THE ICBMS CONTAINED IN THOSE SILOS.

MR. MINISTER, IT IS THE US VIEW THAT THIS PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE US FORMULATIONS FOR ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 9 AND ARTICLE IV, PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5 OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT WILL ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE.

UNQUOTE

JOHNSON

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